244 3. undĭndŏle III: leafstalks bluish, underside of leaf along each side of the ribs has dark green lichenous excrescences.

Taro is planted twice, in the long and short rainy seasons, and it is harvested twice, in the following long and short dry seasons. All the tubers are removed from the soil, and the farm is thus harvested completely. If any tubers are forgotten, they are picked up during the next dry season, but that is the end; there are never more than two harvests from the same sowing. A piece of land once used for taro is never cultivated a second time since enough swampy soil 789 is available. There are no medicines to promote the growth of taro.

The tubers and young leaves are eaten as vegetables. Furthermore, the Pangwe are familiar with the fact that insufficiently boiled tubers cause "metsáń," that is, itching in the neck, and so forth. The tubers are also used as medicine for blood tumors (mvi'm); the 757 278 resin-like secretion of the Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl., Burseraceae (asĕă), is placed on the swelling, and over this is smeared a salve made from the parings of raw taro tubers. This is supposed to make the diseased areas become "ntĕgan," that is, weak or soft.

Plantain

245 The shoots of the plantain, as well as of the banana which is cultivated alongside it, are planted around the village or on farms. They thrive without care and ripen during each season of the year. The plantain (1) or Negro banana, Musa paradisiaca L. (ekṓn),

1. The /German/ word Plante is derived from "plantain" which in turn comes from the Spanish plátano, "banana." Since the plantain is very different from the true banana, I consider the retention of the word "plantain" useful. The French call it banane-cochon.

Figure 56, which in the Pangwe region has 25 different varieties, does not, to be sure, attain the luxuriance of the banana which grows like a weed. Nevertheless, it is very productive, just the plant for a Negro.

272 extraction occurs only in the southern Pangwe region and /164/ in two forms. The first is as follows. The cane is cut into pieces from six to eight centimeters long; the meat of the cane is removed by sticking the spiked stalk of Trachyphrynium danckelmanianum Braun et K. Schn. (nsō' I) through it and scraping back and forth for a while (Fig. 104). A leaf is placed underneath to catch the scrapings, and later they are put in a basketwork plate and pressed out by hand. A second, more refined procedure consists of removing the bark from the cane with a knife and pounding it in a wooden trough. The pulp thus obtained is put in a sugar press (ojám), a crude piece of basketwork in rectangular form, made of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), whose narrow sides end in loops through which two sticks are pushed. One of these is stuck through two poles planted in the ground, each with a hole drilled through the middle; the other stick is placed on top of the two poles. When the press is to be used, /Fig. 106 appears here in the original text/ a vessel (pot) is placed under it, the upper stick is taken off, the sugarcane pulp is placed in the plaited container, the stick is turned with both hands, and in this way the press is wrung dry. The sap, which can be drunk right away, is made primarily for elderly people who are no longer able to chew sugarcane meat; it is also made for medicinal purposes. /165/

[888 ●757]

2. Banana wine.

273 This wine is obtained from ripe bananas or plantains. They are peeled, cut in half, and then placed in a pot filled with water. The pot is covered with a perforated leaf and set in the sun for a day. The fluid is then carefully poured off, put in a calabash, and again set in the sun for a brief period of time. This banana wine or plantain wine (the latter is supposed to taste even better) is known only in the northern Pangwe region. Among the Jaunde it is valued very highly, as much as palm wine, which is attested to, among other things, by its special popularity with the older chiefs who are known as connoisseurs. This beverage, indeed, is not at all bad, and it is, incidentally, also popular with the Whites.

515
302 that raffia palm oil is evidently offensive to lice /Fig. 143 appears here in the original text/ and prevents them from becoming too intimate with their "host." In the case of skin diseases
● [757] (Krokro /Ed.,?/ and scabies) and of sand flea wounds, it is even used as a remedy.

Oil (mbŏn) is obtained mainly from palms: in the north, only from the oil palm; in the south, rarely from this tree and mainly from the raffia palm. At times it is also produced from the kernels of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adžă'b; fruit, ebŏn; kernels, ngŏ'n IV-ebŏn), from the kernels of the Carapa procera D. C. (engă'n), and only very rarely from groundnuts (see page 58).

The oil of the raffia palm is used exclusively for the care of the skin, while that of the oil palm is used for the same purpose

Fig. 143. Toothbrush.

for the greater part, only from one-sixth to one-fifth being consumed as food.

(a) Raffia palm oil.

249
303 The fruit (ažũ,i'), not yet fully ripe, is carried in baskets from the swamp to the village where they are kept for six days under banana leaves and pieces of banana stalks. Then the scaly shell, insofar as it has not fallen in of its own accord, is removed, and the layer rich in oil, which is located between the armor and the seed, is peeled off by hand or with the help of a scale from the shell. The following riddle refers to the latter procedure. /191/
249
524
303 /Fig. 144 appears here in the original text./

ma	vĩi		mot	oko,		okŏn,	o	mbe	a
I	killed	(a)	person	there,	(the)	knife,	it	was	to him

nie	abum	a	si,	o	wo	ma	ba	nie
(at the)	belly	below,		with	which	I	divide	him

a	oa
for	you!

754 The finished mixture is a bone-dry and extremely fine
278 powder. It is not immediately put to use, but first tried out on dogs. By leaving out certain ingredients, such as the Mucuna hairs, or by means of other combinations, the poison mixers -- so various informants emphatically affirm -- are able to shorten or lengthen the victim's period of suffering at will or to produce only illness without fatal results. /147/

The medicine sold by the medicine men (because of its tendency to decompose rather rapidly, it does not keep very long) is used in the following ways. Either it is mixed with the food or sprinkled on the head of the bed or the floor -- merely inhaling the stuff, it is said, produces severe illness. Otherwise it is buried near the surface where the victim usually sits. The Ntum, furthermore, mix the poison with the pulverized resin of Albizzia
[8:4] fastigiata Oliv. (esă'jĕme) and then place in it for five days the
[4:1] pieces of iron with which they load their rifles.

754 Concerning the frequency of secret murder by "sorcery" or
674 murder by poisoning, Europeans certainly have no accurate /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ conception, since without further ado we tend to ascribe deaths in the unhealthy regions of tropical Africa to malaria. At the same time, the importance, even for us, of investigating this matter precisely is demonstrated by the following fact. In the small Campo region (disregarding the coastal strip), which has been visited by Whites only in the last few years, no less than six merchants have been poisoned within this short period of time, attempts were made to poison two others.

The effects of the medicine of sorcery, whenever it is a question of poisoning in our /Fig. 51 appears here in the original text/ sense of the term, for instance, poisoning food, depend on its composition. According to descriptions, it produces either terrible pains in the abdomen, as though "fire were penetrating the bowels," or the symptoms are those of blackwater fever, among others, dark urine, or it produces paralysis; thus, there is a great variety of effects so that correct diagnosis is extraordinarily difficult.

278 If someone believes he has been poisoned or exposed to
757 poisoning, he employs special antidotes concerning whose value

[Text continues on page 9]

278 I am, of course, unable to judge. /148/

●757 In the class of preventives are the leaves of Phyllanthus
[751] gracilipes Pax (esă'n elĭ), which are eaten whole or ground. As an antidote for poison in food, the Jaunde use the Corynanthe pachyceras K. Sch. (evĕ) and the Sida acuta L. var. carpinifolia K. Schum. (sĭsĭ'm IV), the leaves being ground and eaten. In the Fang region a medicine consisting of the following ingredients is used:

1. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth (abŏ'mĕdză'n), the leaves or stalks ground;
2. ripe bananas (adžŭe) cut in pieces;
3. Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edzō'le), bark scraped off;
4. Pachylobus macrophyllus Oliv. (andŏlŏ'm), bark scraped off;
5. Abrus pulchellus Wall. (ozĕ'zŏge III, eloensŭ, "herb to counteract nsŭ"), leaves ground;
6. Desplatsia dewevrei De Wild et Burs. (afŏnŏk), bark scraped off.

These six ingredients are placed in water, and then the extract is drunk. As an antidote for poisoned bullets, the first three of the above are mixed together, and the mixture is eaten dry.

754 A further use of nsŭ is called zō, from zŏ, "leopard," because the whiskers of the leopard are used for it. Just as the leopard tracks its victim /Fig. 52 appears here in the original text/ by means of its whiskers and then treacherously pounces on it, the zō thrower wants the same effect. A piece of such a whisker about half a centimeter long is drawn through a fruit of the umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br. (asŏ'n), Figure 52, to form a small missile which is dipped in the magic medicine and then hurled at the opponent. If it hits the opponent's skin, he is supposed to get sick and die within three to six days. I myself once had an experiment performed with this "poisoning" -- something I felt justified in doing in view of the natives' conviction concerning its purely mystical effectiveness. Naturally the experiment was unsuccessful. Meanwhile, this did not disconcert my informant; he thought that perhaps the medicine he had been given was not the right one. Aside from being put on whiskers,
[674] nsŭ is also sprinkled on darts which are shot from ambush when the

759 serious illness, an advance payment is not customary; only now and then the medicine man receives a small present, especially since he knows an almost inexhaustible number of remedies. If every remedy is of no avail or should the sick man die, the medicine man will not demand a fee simply from a sense of tact and compassion -- "so that the hearts of the relatives will not be afflicted even more." On the other hand, if there is an improvement, he receives five spears if he lives in the same village and ten spears if he has been called in from outside.

I have nothing to report concerning any ceremonies held during the cure.

Leprosy (zǎm), Figure 63

● 757 278 The spots of leprosy -- which appear yellow on the black skin of the natives -- are rubbed with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata Vahl (ekōkō′ Fang) or the stalks of the Manniophyton africanum Muell. Arg. (angū's Ntum) until /172/ /Fig. 63 appears here in the original text/ blood appears. The following medicines are then dried and ground: Microglossa afzelii O. Hoffmann (ojáń e ndźĭk); plantain peel (oyĭna ekŏn); and Diospyros ampullacea Gürke (efīfī'di), leaves or bark. These are rubbed on the body with resin of Xylopia aethiopica A. Rich. (ojǎ,n) and oil from the seeds of Mimusops djave (mbŏn adźǎ,b). When the cure begins, a tree fungus is added. A second medicine is the following. After the same preparatory treatment, a tree fungus and bark from Pachyelasma tessmannii Harms (makō/ō III) and from an undetermined Rubiacea (oyŏ′) are burned together to an ash and rubbed on the body with shea butter oil or raffia palm oil or oil from Carapa procera D.C. (ehgǎ'n). A third recipe recommends leaves of Microglossa afzelii and Phaulopsis longifolius Smis. (oš̆ū,ū-elōk III) to be placed on the leprous spots. The leaves of the last-named plant are also taken as a preventive after being ground and boiled in the food with an egg (bundle form). In some regions the spots are burned out with a glowing iron, and then the ground leaves of the Apocynacea Psychotria coffeosperma K. Sch. (otš̆imaźǧe′ III), together with oil, are put on the spots; or the burned spots are washed with a hot extract of the bark of Eurypetalum tessmannii

2. Tessmann--43 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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[342]

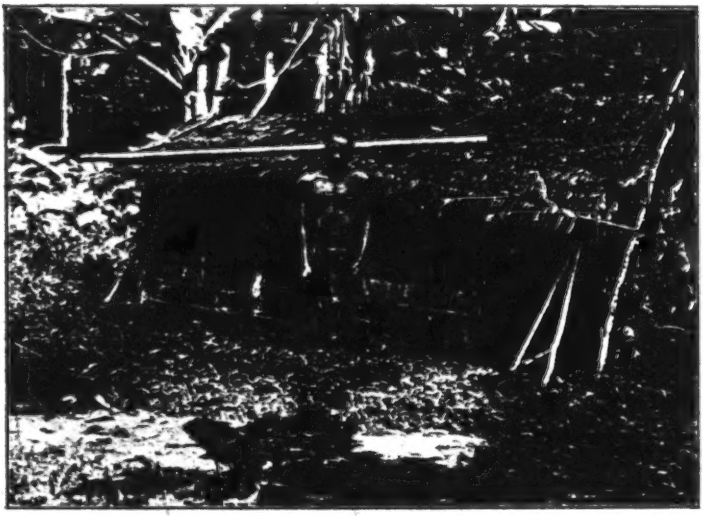

Fig. 63. Leper in front of his Hut, Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

Harms (andzĭtsĭn), whole leaves of the Phaulopsis or ground leaves of cassava (Manihot utilissima) and Emilia sagittata L. (alōmvŭ III) are pressed on the spots, and over them is sprinkled a powder made of the dried and charred roots and stems of the Asystasia macrophylla T. And. /173/ (elŏbokūi). Shortly before the complete healing of the spots, the fruit of Solanum aethiopicum L. var. (ndzē̆i-žŭm) is pressed on them so they will become as black as the fruit.

For the later stage of the illness, in which the festering boils form, the following prescription is used: leaves of the Bidens bipinnatus L. (aniŏ'ń), leaves of the Brillantaisia vogeliana Bth. ebūgebŏ'ń), and pieces of bark of Ficus exasperata are boiled together in water; the water is then poured into a leaf vessel and left to stand until it is lukewarm; then the leprosy spots are washed with it. Thereupon, whole leaves of the Fleurya aestuans (L) Gandich (ngūkŭ'n IV) are placed on the boils as a compress. After two days, the leaf is taken off, the washing is repeated, and the young, still folded leaves of the Loganiacea Mostuea buchholzii Engl. (ofūmū) are ground and put on the wounds.

757 278 164 Whether these medicines really are effective will have to be investigated by doctors. The Pangwe themselves, at any rate, assert that they can cure leprosy in its early stages, and I was shown cases with healed areas that had left lighter spots from which all symptoms of inflammation had disappeared. Frequent repetition of the treatment is presupposed. Leprosy is one of the most terrible and common diseases of the southern Pangwe region. At a Sso festival in Akonangi, for example, I counted seven lepers among approximately 30 men present. With the primitive living conditions and the carelessness of the Negroes, the disease is all too readily communicated. It is true that prophylactic methods [714] are used; indeed, lepers are even segregated, but only in the advanced stages of the disease and then very incompletely since, for example, they are admitted to all the dance festivals. The [837] women even seek out lepers by preference for extramarital sexual intercourse. In the north leprosy does not occur so severely; according to the statement of one Jaunde, this is because they use medicines as soon as the illness appears.

757 The explanation of the effect of the medicine, if one is given at all, is always a mystical one, although it should by no means be concluded from this that the plants concerned would not be worth scientific investigation. In the case of leprosy, for instance, the blackish color or the blackening property of the plants is usually declared to be the cause of their effectiveness. The skin is supposed to become black, and therefore the medicine is usually made at night when everything is black: hence, the choice of ojǎn e [824] ndžìk (Microglossa afzelii) and of ojǎ,h (Xylopia aethiopica), from a jǎn, "to roast, to blacken"; hence, efífídí (Diospyros), from fídi, "coal," because the tree is black as coal; hence, ovǐna ekǒn (black plantains), from a yǐn, "to become black"; hence, ošǔ,tǔ elɑk (Phaulopsis) from nšǔt, "black." /174/

Elephantiasis of the scrotum (ojǔ̌n, mbǎ̌n).

Elephantiasis of the scrotum is not too frequent among the Pangwe, but it is greatly feared by them, probably only because

757 in its later stages it makes sexual intercourse impossible. In the Pangwe region I never encountered the gigantic scrotums that one finds in the Northern Cameroons, for instance. The natives be-
[753] lieve that the disease is caused by worms that ordinarily live in the stomach and are the cause of stomach pains. From the stomach they are supposed to migrate into the scrotum and cause it to swell. Allegedly from the example of the Whites (perhaps
[177] from Nkomakak?), people in a few places have hit upon the idea
[752] of opening the scrotum and cutting out the swellings. The original treatment, which is still practiced today, is to use the medicines for stomach worms. Recipes for these medicines are as follows.

757 278 1. bevūu̯ě a ndžīk III, scraped bark boiled with raffia palm resin, the water being in part carefully poured off, the rest injected as an enema. At the same time, pieces of bark of Cylicodiscus gabonensis Harms (edūm) and Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk) are placed in a leaf vessel with water; then somebody blows into it with a reed until foam rises. The patient must sit down in the vessel. Both plants contain an acrid sap supposed to drive away the "worms."

2. Illigera pentaphylla Welw. (matū,lū mesĭń III), ground leaves eaten with salt and pepper.

3. Citrus limonum Risso (alɔ̄'s), "because it is bitter and evil-smelling, and so drives away the worms," together with Plagiostyles klainei Pierre (ešŭlă', from a šúlắn, "to loosen" knots), "so that the disease will likewise be loosened," Oncinotis tessmannii Gilg (njĕm osɔ̄'k IV), "because the worms fear the hairs (= the itching)," Brillantaisia lamium Bth. (džíbe elɔ̄'k III), "because the plant is bitter," and Stenochlaena guineensis (Kuhn) Unt. (nkádena' III), all boiled together in a pot with water and then used as an enema. In addition, pieces of bark of Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. et Diels (amvĭm) slightly boiled and pressed on the stomach.

4. Dioscorea preussii Pax (abă'ń), Xylopia zenkeri Engl. et Diels (odžūę̄), and an herb osă; leaves or pieces of bark ground together, then boiled a little, and the water used as an enema.

When the healing starts, Maesobotrya (mbă'n-afă'n I) dried, ground, and eaten.

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278 Furthermore, the following are supposed to be able to cure the disease as well: the Meliacea Trichilia prieuriana Juss (eyǒ), the Rubiacea (oyǒ'), the Rhamnacea Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. (nkǎ́ńgǎ' I), and especially the Leguminosa Millettia tessmannii Harms (niḛ'kemakjī' I). /175/

Serious form of dysentery (tīɾ).

Aside from the symptoms of ordinary dysentery, this disease is distinguished by an unsightly swollen belly, and it frequently leads to death.

As a remedy, Trichilia prieuriana Juss (eyǒ) is used. Pieces of bark are placed in a leaf vessel, hot water is poured over them, and the water is then used as an enema. Hot pieces of the bark are also pressed on the body. Furthermore, the bark of the Leguminosa Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edzī) is scraped off, mixed with red wood, heated on a potsherd over a fire, and then pressed to the belly. The following is also recommended: pieces of bark of Leptonychia tessmannii Engl. Sterculiacea (akǎ́k), boiled and pressed while hot on the stomach; in addition pieces of bark of a species of Parkia (esḛ́ń) and ground leaves of Cassia occidentalis L. (ebḛ́ī-sī) and Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (avǎ́ e sī), from which an extract is made in cold water and consumed, these last two plants being used because of their smell. Finally, pieces of the bark Pseudospondias tessmannii Engl. (angǒ́kǒ́ń) are boiled, and the lukewarm water used as an enema, or extracts are made with cold water from the bark of Anonidium mannii Oliv. (ebǒ́m) or from the leaves of Dichapetalum patentihirsutum Engl. (étǎ́') and used as an enema (1).

1. For syphilis, only Trichilia tessmannii Harms (atǔ́m) is used. Pieces of the bark are boiled and placed with water in a leaf vessel, and the patient is made to crouch in it for a long time, or ashes of the bark are sprinkled on the area primarily affected.

Frambesia (mabā'da).

●757 278 [164] Next to leprosy, frambesia is the most widespread of the dangerous diseases of the Pangwe region. As various infected Europeans assert, the natives' manner of treatment was markedly successful with them.

The most usual medicine is the following. The diseased areas are cleansed with a decoction, as hot as possible, made from the bark of Heisteria parvifolia Smith (žō,ebê III) and leaves of Claoxylon africanum Muell. Arg., Euphorbiacea (beš,obešo̱o III), Costus littoralis K. Sch. (2) (zĕ̱lăn̆' mĭ̱m), "so the illness will go

2. Or Costus aff. ligulatus Gagnep.

around one like the leaves around the plant," and a species of Aneilema, "because the leaves are cold and supposed to lessen the heat of the pain." Then the contents of the red fruit (esŭ̱n) of the Cardamom are heated on a potsherd and pressed on the areas. If blood spurts forth, it is washed off with the hot water. Then /176/ the dried roots of a species of Dioscorea (minutiflora Engl. ?), awū'mŭ̱k, are charred, and the affected areas are sprinkled with the ashes. Finally, the principal medicine is sprinkled on the ashes; this is the milky sap of the nyă,mă ndžĭk, two Apocynaceae, Olafia multiflora Stpf. and Oncinotis glandulosa Stpf. Instead of the Dioscorea ashes, fine bark scraped off the Apocynaceae mentioned may also be used. The milky sap is often mixed with ground leaves of the Ochnacea Ouratea nigro-violacea Gilg (okū̱m-afă'n), and the bark of Ouratea spinuloso-serrata Gilg (abo̱nežo̱k Ntum) is often added to the water.

Elephantiasis of the legs (bendū̱mejăn̆).

[164] This disease is quite frequent in the Pangwe area and is supposed to be prevalent chiefly among women. It is curable only in the initial stages, when only the foot is swollen. If the swelling has spread to the shank, all efforts are in vain. The treatment that the afflicted person must submit to is a regular horse cure.

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278 First the feet are beaten with the spiked Acanthus montanus T. Andl. (ndūí IV) until the blood pours from them; better still, the upper part of the foot is lacerated with a knife. Then both feet are covered with sand that is heated by several fires. If the pains become unendurable, the patient is allowed to cool his feet in cold water to which are added leaves of Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abūī Ntum) and bark of Macaranga heudelotii Baill. (asǎs). The Alchornea is supposed to be "cold" and to have a cooling effect; the Macaranga is supposed to remove the sickness (a sǎ[s] okǒn, "to shake off a sickness"). Then the feet are again put into the hot sand bath, and this procedure is carried out three times in succession. The treatment is repeated every other day until there is a cure.

Festering boils (fó, pfó).

The treatment resembles that for frambesia. Frequently the affected spots are washed with hot or at least warm water and afterwards with the milky sap of the Apocynaceae Olafia and Oncinotis. A few other medicines may be mentioned here.

1. Cissus smithiana (Bak.) Pl. (njǎ'mandūmǎnǎ III): the bark is scraped off just above the ground, placed in water, and then applied to the wound.

2. Costus (miěn IV): after removal of the bark, the stalk is ground, then boiled, and pressed on the wound while still hot. After this, ground leaves of Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. are placed on the wound.

3. After the same preparatory treatment with Costus, leaves of the Asclepiadacea Periploca nigrescens Afz. (abǎń e ndzīk) are placed on the wound. /177/

4. Pieces of the bark of Erythrophloeum guineense (elǔn) and Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzītsǐń) are boiled, and the water is pressed on the spots; then the leaves of Ampelocissus cinnamochroa Pl. (nsǐ'sá III) are ground and laid on the wounds.

5. Trichoscypha (engǒń): a number of pieces of bark are boiled, and the wounds are washed with the hot water. Then pieces

of the bark are charred and sprinkled on the affected areas.

6. Trichoscypha (amyūt): just like 5; in the beginning, after the washing, bark of Conopharyngia brachyantha Stapf, Apocynacea (etūě), is scraped off and sprinkled on the spots.

7. Dissotis decumbens (P.B.) Tr. (mabǭmogbwā III): leaves are ground, then boiled, and the wounds are washed with the hot water; then leaves of Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (avá,e sī) are placed on the wounds.

8. Solenostemon leaves are ground and pressed out over the wound, together with the sap from the tuber of the Aframomum.

Furuncles (ekiě, ekō̄, mvǐ'm IV).

A few medicines will be mentioned here.

1. Commelinacea Palisota preussiana K. Sch. (epfūpfū'ī): stalks are scraped off after the removal of the outer layer, and the shavings are tied on the boils.

2. Colocasia antiquorum (atū): the tuber is hollowed out by twirling a knife, and the contents are placed on the affected areas with the resin of Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (aīe,á).

3. A whole leaf of the Euphorbiaceae Maesobotrya (mbă'ń-afă'n I) is placed on the spot with the resin of Pachylobus, "so it will become small," because the Euphorbiaceae mentioned have small leaves in comparison to Tricalysia macrophylla K. Sch. (mbă'ń).

4. A whole leaf of Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (avă,e sī, edǒdǒelǒ), together with resin, is placed on the spot, "because of the odor."

5. Ancistrocarpus densispinosus Oliv. (akă[k] a ndzīk): the bark is scraped off and placed on the spots together with red wood; "akă[k] a ndzīk is quiet (compare akăk, "peace linden") and has odor (?).

6. Gall fruit (plural, bebūma, "fruits") of the Microglossa volubilis D.C. (myūyū' I) are charred and smeared on the wounds together with oil.

7. Cassava roots are scraped and tied to the affected area.

8. Cucurbitacea Lepistemon owariensis (Spreng.) Hallierf. (nkɔ̄mbwɔ̌le III): leaves ground together with red wood and some water and smeared on the affected places /178/; "a bwɔ̌le (buɛ̄le), break open, the fruit breaks open of its own accord, and in the same way the boil is supposed to break open."

9. Ophiocaulon gracile Harms, Passifloracea (ejɔ̌k): the leaves are heated over the fire and then pressed on the affected places. The fruit of Ophiocaulon are hollow and burst easily, making a slight noise. "In the same way the boils are supposed to burst open."

10. Conopharyngia brachyantha Stpf. (etūɛ̌): the sap of the plant is sprinkled on the boils, "so they run like the milky sap from the Conopharyngia."

11. Desplatsia subericarpa Bocq. (ukū kūt a mfɔ̌nɔ̌k III): the contents of the fruit are smeared on with red wood, so the swelling will become as small as the fruit of the Desplatsia subericarpa in comparison to the Desplatsia dewevrei (mfɔ̌nɔ̌k I).

12. Euphorbiacea Tragia cordifolia Benth (otūm): the leaves are pressed on with resin. The leaves burn, and it is hoped thereby to dispel the swelling.

Finally, attempts are also made to remove the swellings by means of external treatments. Thus, the boils are beaten, for example, with the sharp-spiked Acanthus montanus until the blood pours out, and then the wound is covered with the leaves of Dioscorea dumetorum (Kunth) Pax (andɛ̄ă), or the boils may be cut open with a knife.

Gonorrhea (nkɔ́k I).

Gonorrhea is supposed to be indigenous to the Pangwe region, but it is quite infrequent in the untouched interior. In Yaoundé /Ed., in German, Jaunde/, on the other hand, and in the vicinity of the coast, under the influence of "civilization," it is very widespread. The cure of gonorrhea is attempted mainly by internal medicines. For instance, a watery solution of the Conopharyngia (etūɛ̌) is drunk so the gonorrhea will "flow out," or one may drink a bark extract from Heisteria parvifolia Sm., Flacourtiacea

(yiǒ́s IV), from Rinorea dentata (P. Beauv.) O. Ktze., Violacea (olǔ́ń), from Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. et Diels, Anonacea (amyim), or from Berlinia acuminata Sol., Leguminosa (epfo'bǎ́). Instead of pure water, they frequently take sugar water, which first has been placed in the sun, with, for example, a root extract of Triumfettia cordifolia Guillet, Sterculiacea (okūń), or with the Araliacea Schefflera tessmannii Harms (abɛ̄okū́ī), with Garcinia purulata Oliv. (mekǎ́ elí), or with Canarium schweinfurthii Engl. (abɛ̄ Ntum). Furthermore, leaves for example, from Polycephalium poggei Engl. (okǒngūs), are cut up and eaten with spices (salt, pepper, melegueta) (1) in a ngon bundle, often together with the

1. Melegueta pepper always should be taken to mean Aframomum melegueta K. Sch. (andūń).

flesh of the spiny-finned sheatfish. The sharp or spiked things used are supposed to drive out the illness, hence, okǒngūs, from okǒ́ń, "knife." More rarely, they use /179/ enemas, with preparations such as an extract from the head of a blossom from the Costus (explanation: "So that the 'body sap' -- this is how the discharge is conceived in this case -- will stick together in the body as do the blossoms of the Costus"), from Rinorea, or Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. (nkǎ́ńgǎ́ I). Furthermore, the skin over the pubes, where the seed arises, according to Pangwe opinion, is lacerated, and ashes of Cnestis ferruginea D.C., Connaracea (ntɛ̌́be sī́ I), are rubbed into the wounds, so that the discharge will "sit down" like the herb (a tɛ̌bɛ̌ o sī́, "to sit down").

Swelling in the groin (nkǎ́ǎ́).

A procedure aimed at removing the malady entails making an incision in one toe on the side of the body affected and rubbing pepper and salt into the wound. Another prescription goes: leaves of Tricalysia macrophylla K. Sch., Rubiacea (mbǎ́h I) and Selaginella scandens (B. B.) Sprg. (zɛ̌lǎnǎ́), charred and then

●757 278 placed on the areas together with oil. The affliction is supposed to miss (a sɛ̀lǎn) the person just as the leaves of the Selaginella "miss" their counterparts (the leaves, in other words, are alternate); mbə́ṅ from a bə́ṅ, "to evade," that is, the disease is supposed to evade the person just as the tree has an evasive quality (meaning unclear). Furthermore, the disease is driven out by blows with the nettle-like inflorescences of the Urticaceae Boehmeria platyphylla D. Don (sə̌[s]-dzə̌m IV) or Fleurya podocarpa Wedd (sə̌s IV). Finally, they also grind blossoms of Hippocratea myriantha Oliv. (mesi, ndzə̌k I) and apply them with oil to the swelling.

Eczema, Krokro (ntʒə̌ṅ I).

Prescriptions. 1. Hosluntia verticillata Vahl (osaavõ', asə̌benkūm): dip the shoots in hot water and rub them on the affected areas; then apply the ground leaves of the Cyathula achyranthoides (Kth.) Mog. (num e kə̀lə̄'t III) with oil. 2. Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (ayə̌ e sī): wash the areas with a decoction; then apply the ground leaves of the Apocynaceae Doacanga or Rauwolfia with oil.

Furthermore, parts of the following plants are rubbed onto the areas together with oil: Phyllanthus cappillaris Schum. et Thom (elə̄ametiə́ṅ IV) (ground leaves), Rumex abessinicus Jacq (esə́ṅ) (heated leaves), Fleurya aestuans (ngūkə́'n IV) (heated leaves), Palisota thyrsiflora Bth., Commelinacea (ekə̀kā dela'ṅ) (charred leaves), Millettia drastica Welw. (onúmezə̀k) (scraped-off bark), Gouania longipetala Hemsley, Rhamnacea (ngə̀nə̀ a ndzə̌k III) (scraped-off bark).

For scabies the natives frequently use raffia palm oil by itself or with the leaves of Hosluntia or of the Vitacea Ampelocissus cavicaulis /180/ (Bak.) Pl. (pfə́'zə̀k IV) or Aerua lanata (L.) Juss., Amarantacea (angə̄'ngə̄'nə̀ III). Also, hoops of Cissus or Lepistemon stalks are slung around the foot.

For herpetic eruptions on the head (akə̄), which for the most part, it is true, are ignored and occur with special frequency among children, tobacco leaves are rubbed on the shaved head, or the head

is powdered by making the sole of one's foot quite dusty and then pressing it on the head of the patient.

More widespread is a herpetic eruption of the skin (tõn, matõn) with bright spots that must not be confused with leprosy. As remedies the following plants are known to me: Capsicum leaves are ground and placed on the areas affected; the leaves of Brillantaisia lamium Bth. (dzíbě elõ'k III) are heated and placed on the areas, and a leaf extract is used as an enema (the plant is dark, and the skin is supposed to become dark again); Asclepiadacea Marsdenia ladifolia (Bth.) Schltr. (abǫdeambě̌ III), the leaves ground and put on the areas together with oil (the plants "blacken"); Clerodendron buettneri Gürke (mayūlū elõ'k III), because of its hairs.

A less important skin disease, a kind of Krokro which especially attacks the feet and is called ašū,lúk, appears chiefly during the rainy season. Heated shoots of Hibiscus sabdariffa L. (esáń) and Rumex abessynicus Jacq. (ebū'lo esáń), which are pressed on the diseased areas, are used for it, or leaves of Anetlema aequinoctiale Kth. (nnǎt I) are added to a foot bath.

Epilepsy (okū,bū́k).

According to one view, epilepsy is caused by the fact that along with his food a person has accidentally got a cicada (ngǎmtětě'a IV) into his stomach. According to the dominant opinion, however, it is caused by the fact that one has looked too long into the sun. Medicines for it are the Apocynaceae Rauwolfia and Doacanga, whose leaves are ground and boiled, and used as an enema when they have cooled; furthermore, from Cola ricinifolia Engl. et Krause (alõn), one root is stuck into the hair, another is scraped and steeped in water, the water then being drunk, and the other roots are put under the bed. The Cola is supposed to be "cold." During an attack, ground leaves of Cissus aralioides (Welw.) Pl. (ahgõ'ńengí) are put in water, and this is poured over the afflicted person. The Cissus causes itching and brings the patient back to consciousness.

757
278

For back aches Erythrophloeum guineense (elūn) and the Rubiacea Gaertnera paniculata (esɔ̄ mɔ̄ Fang) are used. The bark of the Erythrophloeum is heated and laid on a bed on which the patient lies down. The bark of the Gaertnera is cut up into small pieces and is put into a larger piece of bark of the same plant; the patient must lie down with his back on it. For organic /181/ heart disease (nnā nnēm "pains in the heart"), an extract of the [926] bark of Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edzɔ̄'le) is drunk; for mental [329] disorders, which are also supposed to come from the heart (okɔ̄n nnēm), 10 different medicines have been mentioned to me. By acquiring the particular property of the plant, the heart is supposed to be put to sleep and made dark and small. I have further collected: 21 medicines for headache; four for lung disease (sɔ̄); nine for the cold; 56 for stomach and intestinal disorders; 54 for toothaches; 47 for rheumatic pains (nnā and nnā-nkūk); 23 for stomach-aches when twitching pains occur (nnā-abūm); and five for hemorrhoids, among them especially the Cucurbitacea Cephalonema polyandrum K. Sch. (ejazū'm).

For eye inflammations, ground leaves of the Rubiacea Chasalia macrodiscus K. Sch. (dzī a ndzīk III) or bark scraped off the Euphorbiacea Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efūɔ̄'le, dzī, III) are put in a leaf bag, a little water is added, and the extract flowing out at the bottom is dropped into the eye. The same process is carried out with ground leaves of Ampelocissus cinnamochroa (nsī's ā III) as a remedy for sties.

To get rid of eye worms (eyā), the sap of the following plants is used: Dipteropeltis poranoides Hallier f., Convolvulacea (atū[k] e ndzīk); Diodia breviseta Benth, Rubiacea (dēmezɔ̄ III); Gabunia brachypoda Stpf., Apocynacea (etū e' ndzīk); Phaseolus lunatus L. (okɔ̄kūnɔ̄ III).

The Negro's indifference toward sand lice, Sarcopsylla penetrans (aiɔ̄), is well known; the Pangwe, too, neglect sand lice wounds and do not use medicine until half the toe is festered. Then ground leaves of Phytolacca abyssinica Hoffmann (atɔ̄t e nkɔ̄), ground leaves of Ocimum gratissimum L. (asɔ̄'b) mixed with oil, or bark shavings of the Euphorbiacea Neoboutonia africana Muell. Arg. (okɔ̄'yɔm) mixed with oil are placed on the wounds, and after a few days the

757 resin of Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (ašē, á), which kills the
278 parasites that might have stayed in the flesh, is smeared on them.

The medicines for lice (nín) were given in Volume I, page 188.

An effective emetic, which, however, is rarely used, is supplied by Microglossa volubilis D.C. (myūvū' I). The leaves are ground and steeped in water, and the water is then drunk.

An infusion of the bark of the Olacacea Stromboisopsis congolensis de Wildem. (edžíb, from džíb, "to close") is supposed to have a constipating effect; it is used cold as an enema. An infusion of avõm is supposed to have the same effect.

As a laxative Cassia occidentalis L. (ebē sí) is used, the leaves being ground and put in cold water, and this is drunk; furthermore, young shoots from the Rubiacea Urophyllum /182/ callicarpoides H. (mbõõ' III) are ground in water, and this liquid is used as an enema; finally the root of Physedra longipes Hook f. (ebū'i) is steeped in cold water, and the liquid used as an enema.

752 One rarely hears anything about snake bites in the Pangwe
136 region. Despite the fairly large number of species of these reptiles, there are only a few whose bite is almost always deadly. These include Bitis nasicornis Shaw (fē' IV Ntum) and Naja melanoleuca Hall. (eyíndi nyõ', "black snake"). Those whose bite frequently leads to death include Naja guentheri Blgr. (okúm), Atheris squamiger Hall. (yiõ IV), and two Thrasops species, Thrasops flavigularis Hall. (nkō'dõ-nšū I III) and Thrasops aethiops Günth. (nkō'dõ-fám III). All other species, even if some of them are poisonous, are little if at all feared since their poison is not fatal and can be made ineffectual by medicines. The varying effect of snake bites has given rise to the belief that those who die from them had been engaged in sorcery the night before (nwū'án I, that is, one who must die), whereas the others did not (nnían I, that is, one who shall live).

752 In the treatment of snake bites the principal role is played by a
278 stone concerning which I was unable to discover any further details. In addition, the leaves of the Urticacea Pouzolzia guineensis Benth (mbõanē' III) or of Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (avē, e sí) are ground in water, and with this the wounds are washed; or the sap of the Guttifera Haronga paniculata (Pers.) Lodd. (atū') -- which is also used when goats are castrated -- is dripped into the wounds.

539 514 "to look for firewood"; ma ke ofe̱I, "I am going into the bush," and so forth. Even today I have to smile when I think of an incident that happened at the beginning of my stay in Alén. 114 514 One of my Fang boys, who accompanied me on the hunt and was near a thick, half-rotted tree stump, suddenly said, "ma ke tsă ndžā,ă (I am going to get some firewood)." Under the impression that he really wanted to cut off some firewood from the tree stump, I countered this, to me unintelligible, notion, half amazed, half mockingly, with the words, "ye oa bɛ̌le ovŭ'n (but do you have an axe)?" It was only after a while that I understood why I was struck by such an annihilating look of moral disapproval. After this faux pas, I became more cautious and was soon sufficiently polished to be a highly civilized person in the Pangwe sense, who in strange villages no longer spoke of the eduk (toilet), but instead, as a well brought-up "Pange," merely asked:

nge ba tsĭ'dăn ma, ma yā'le
If one drives (urges) me, I duck (hide)
[539] vĕ'?
where?

or: zĕ'n e medžā e ne vĕ'?
Where is the way to the host (actually: head of the village)?

539 ●757 514 Further demonstrations of the Pangwe's feeling of shame with respect to natural requirements are the use of an enema syringe (which is directly connected with

514 [757] 539

the feces or anus) as a deterrent medicine for thefts from the field and the significant tale of the turtle and the woman. A turtle wants to force a girl against her will to become his wife, and after all kinds of vain attempts finally succeeds only by smearing the girl's bed and clothes one night with his own feces. Having done so, he lies down to sleep, and the next morning when the girl sees the mess, he threatens to tell in the village and all the world that she had befouled her bed. The turtle thus put the girl completely in his power and forced her to agree to the marriage.

539 836 514 the girl going into her mother's house, quickly stole after her through the plantain grove, and listened behind the house to what the girl might say; not by a single word did she mention the incident. He then went back with a joyful heart, and said to himself: "This girl truly loves me." After two days he returned, asked for her hand in marriage, and took her back to his village as his wife.

This tale gave rise to the popular saying: ng(e) oa dzĭn ma, obĕbĕ', ng(e) oa bĕne ma: obĕbĕ'.

832 The great number of love medicines (bia n andu'man), which very graphically symbolize the fusion and embracing of the sexes (in a spiritual as well as a physical sense), has already been discussed in Volume II, page 30 .

848 836 Illegitimate children are quite rare. The child's father -- even when he is known -- has no claim upon the child, just as the girl has no claim upon the father. The child belongs to the girl's father and is regarded as a not altogether unwelcome addition, since when the girl marries, it considerably raises her purchase price. As long as the mother remains unmarried, her child stays in the house of her parents. When she marries, the child becomes /259/ a part of the marriage bargain, as it were, and is considered

842 After this second part of the ceremony, called elum nzum, the
843 child is hidden for eight days in a hut, and women are forbidden to
789 see him during this time; he is now called mvun. On the morning of the eighth day, the men lay him on a mat in the village square and cover him with mats and cloths so that the women do not see him; the inhabitants of the village are again assembled, and the men of the husband's family step over the mvun one after the other, saying: madzune, e mvun ebue ni ngi me ki me nga kule abum, me bure (I say, the mvun is lying there; if it is I who caused the abortion, may I die). When all the men have passed, the child is taken away. Some time later the guilty one becomes sick, has a swollen abdomen, and dies, there being no possibility of caring for him. After his death, the woman is treated as in the case of natural abortion.

843 Pregnancy (ndzua abum). When a woman is pregnant, she is bound by numerous obligations and prohibitions which aim to care for the child which she carries so that she can bring it into the world in good health. [80]

843 The obligations consist of taking medicines; to prevent the child
757 from having sores in the womb of its mother, she takes an infusion of the roots of various trees. This medicine is called ese bibolo (to treat infections); if it is neglected, the child is born with infected sores which never heal.

The future mother must also go every three days into the brush and give herself a washing with a preparation of bark of ebom which has fermented in water. After each enema, water is added to the vessel containing the pieces of bark, which are kept until the delivery.

That the child may be strong, the pregnant woman anoints her abdomen with an ointment prepared by the midwife with padouk powder mixed with raphia oil and bark.

843 Finally, to prevent abortion, the woman wears on her skin, like a
757 belt, a piece of okum vine, which is not removed until after the birth of the child.

843 All this does not prevent the woman from continuing her work; when she feels tired, it is because the child is sick, and the midwife treats her with one of the medicines mentioned above. If the woman's husband has not had children for a long time, the future mother then enjoys much esteem; she receives gifts, and her husband pays a great deal of attention to her.

844 see it, and if she sees it she will have no more children. The mother is then washed with very hot water in which pimento has been steeped; after this her abdomen is bound with a belt of bark (ewag) which she keeps on for several days.

846 After the birth of her child, a young mother is known by the name of nzinze, which she keeps until she has the right to resume relations with her husband. She has a special bed in the hut, on which a [844] menstruating woman may neither sit nor lie so as not to give scabies to the mother and the newborn. The young mother rests for about three months, during which she does no work and bathes every day with water as hot as she can stand, the lumbar region especially being [750] bathed. Moreover, after every bath she is smeared with red paste (ba) to prevent scabies.

Recovery from childbirth is marked by a celebration (okula mon). The first time she goes out, the woman carries a package of ba, a piece of which she places on every tree stump she meets on her way, to mark her path. On her return she prepares a large quantity of food she has brought back. The husband invites the men of his tribe, and the wife invites the women of her husband's tribe. When the food is ready, it is taken to the men in the watchers' hut, where the child is also taken. The women eat in the hut.

846 To improve the quality of her milk, the young mother drinks pro-
827 gressively, if necessary, three medicines:
750 (1) An infusion of aseh roots.

(2) A milky-looking infusion of pieces of tubers of a plant with a thorny stem (ekon bökun).

(3) Latex from a rubber plant.

761 It may be that the child dies at birth. Three causes for this are
789 recognized:

An evur has eaten the child. To prevent this from being repeated and so that the woman will in the future bring living children into the world, she resorts to the practitioner. He goes into the forest armed [83] with a machete and a basket. He gathers the bark of an ovan, and also brush and vines that grow under this tree. On his return to the village he divides his collection into two parts. One part, mixed with water, is put in a large rectangular container of banana leaves called etok, which has been filled with the blood of a domestic animal sacrificed for the welfare of the woman. She then immerses herself

779 [Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [402]
791 Sometimes in very important tribes, especially in those that make up large, compact groups, this role of minister to the mvamayôn has developed temporarily upon the practitioner.

Sometimes practitioners take on the role themselves and hold it by their personal importance or ability.

In both cases a kind of usurpation is always involved or a mixing up of powers, rarely a substitution. The practitioner then acts not in his own name by virtue of his role and his own authority, but as a delegated power. ...

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator] [403]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

779 Thus in certain specific cases the political chief of the clan
791 leaves the exercise of religious worship to the practitioner even
64 with regard to the totem. Yet this is only a delegated role to the
769 extent that when the totem has to be questioned in a critical situation, the practitioner disappears and the chief resumes his rights: it would then be up to him to carry out ritual acts and make sacrifices. A chief may not be able to do this, [404] for instance, if he were very ill. A sacrifice is then offered to the totem directly concerned. Does the practitioner now come to the fore? Not at all. He first sacrifices to the tutelary spirits and spirits of the dead, and then he interrogates the spirits in order to find out what evil influences have caused the illness and to discover the person who, in the sacred phrase, has "made a fetish" against the sick man. The consanguineous heir appears in his turn to invoke the family's guardian spirits in favor of the sick man and to invoke his totem. In this case, invocations and sacrifice have a dual purpose: first, to invoke the direct ancestors represented by their skulls preserved in the biéri box -- this is the cult of the esayôn; secondly, to invoke the totem represented by a real or symbolic fragment -- this is the cult of the mvamayôn.

[Four paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [405]

791 There are two distinct characters: practitioner [feticheur]
757 and sorcerer.

The practitioner takes several forms: he may be soothsayer, physician, priest -- all different manifestations of the same ministry and all legal. In a word, the practitioner is the agent of the acknowledged cult.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

the natural curve of the branches. Stones are employed for rolling food, especially for crushing and rolling the *ngon* seed. Shells of large land mollusca are cut in half and used for spoons, small gourds being used for the same purpose. Large gourds are used for water dippers and bottles. Very many uses are found for the forest gourds, not the least ingenious being the use of a hollow stemmed gourd for administering a rectal injection. Gourds are used for the sounding boards of the musical instrument called *mvuk*. The people find many uses for bamboo. It is used in construction of houses, fish baskets and traps are made from it, fences to protect paths during tribal wars are made of sharp pointed bamboo poles; and small sharpened pieces of bamboo with poisoned tips are buried in the forest paths, point upward, to wound and poison the naked feet of an unsuspecting enemy. The teeth and claws of leopards and bush cats, elephant tail, antelope feet, horns and forest beans are used in their natural form as personal ornaments. Leopard teeth are always considered valuable as *biang* (fetish) and are much sought after; they are frequently imitated in ivory. I have not seen the defences of animals employed as artificial defences, except as fetish. Long tough forest thorns are often used as awls and needles for piercing and sewing skins. I once saw an *ngangan* (witch doctor) perform a post-mortem examination on a woman. After he had discovered the cause of death, which he announced to the expectant crowd as being due to "six witches eating her liver," he first pierced the abdominal walls with a long hard thorn, and then sewed up the body with a bamboo needle threaded with pineapple fibre. I have seen only one cave dwelling; it was used by an isolated sufferer of the dread disease called by the natives *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina). When proper reed material for making thatch is scarce, large forest leaves are used, but they make very poor roofs, especially during the tornado season.

Conservatism.—The Fang are not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread of departing from ancestral habits. This refers to all the proceedings of life. Fang living in towns near Gaboon are almost daily coming in contact with white settlers, and to some extent, at least, appear to be changing their mode of living. It never appeared to me that a Fang had the same longing to be "just like a white man" as possesses the young Mpôngwe and Benga men.

IX.—*Ornamentation.*

The patterns mostly seen in Fang ornamentation consist of bands, incised lines, elliptical punch marks, herring bone, lozenge pattern and cross lines. The natives do not possess a natural aptitude for drawing, and seldom attempt it. The few drawings I have seen on the bark walls of houses, supposed to represent men and women, were very crude and exaggerated in proportion. They have no idea whatever of perspective. They seem to interpret foreign drawings very readily. The Fang show considerable skill in plain wood carving, using an ordinary native knife. I have noticed that their carving improves very considerably when an imported pocket knife is the instrument employed.